

OSTRAKA FROM THE YALE COLLECTION

The small collection of ostraka belonging to the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University, of which this is the second published installment,¹ is heterogeneous in type of document but largely Theban in provenance.² Part at least of the collection was acquired in 1931, but nothing is known of the manner of acquisition.³

1. Order for Delivery

A comparatively small number of these orders for delivery of an amount of some commodity is known: *O. Bodl.* 2102-2119; *O. Stras.* 511-517; *O. Leid.* 344-352.⁴ They are chary of geographical information, but all of these groups belong to essentially Theban collections; given the late date, the characteristic Theban nomenclature is no longer sufficiently dominant

1 Six ostraka are published as *P. Coll. Youtie* II 121-126.

2 Three of the six ostraka previously published (*P. Coll. Youtie* 122-124) are clearly Theban in origin; no. 121 is Pathyrite; no. 125 is from the Fayum. I do not know where no. 126 comes from. Of the present group, no. 1 is probably Theban, nos. 2-4 not assignable, 5 from the Fayum, and 6-9 from Jeme (Medinet Habu). Cf. n.3.

3 They were made available to me at the time of the Fifth Summer Program in Papyrology (Toronto 1970); I owe to the kindness of Susan Stephens the opportunity to pursue their publication now. The fragments from Dura described below did not come to my attention in 1970, being kept in their own small container. The ostraka are now kept in the Yale University Art Gallery; I am indebted to Susan B. Matheson for information and photographs. The Dura ostraka are now numbered 1935.259 (the old 45B), 1935.260 (45A), and 1935.261 (45C). The others are inventoried with numbers 1978.45.1-36, the last digit or two corresponding to the original inventory number except that 0.13 is 1978.45.9, 0.27A is 1978.45.13, and 0.37 is 1978.45.21.

4 Reference is to the complete edition of this collection in *Greek Ostraka in the Leiden Museum and Papyrological Institute*, ed. R. S. Bagnall, P. J. Sijpesteijn, and K. A. Worp (Coll. Nat. Mus. Antiq. Leiden II [Leiden 1979]).

to resolve the matter.⁵ Their date is not earlier than the fourth century, as the handwriting and the appearance of characteristic terms like *ἐξάκτωρ* and measures like *μόδιος* and *λίτρα*, as well as the use of indictions in some of them, show. Viereck and Tait and Préaux largely give “fourth or fifth century” as the date. I should myself think the first half of the fourth century the probable date of all of the Leiden texts as well as of the Yale one; I have not seen the others.

These orders mostly begin with *παρά* (often, but not here, abbreviated to *π'*), followed by a name or—more commonly—a title without name, and the name of the addressee. The use of cases is frequently difficult to untangle. There follows an imperative (e.g. *δός*) and the name of the recipient, followed by what is to be given, date, and signatures (in varying orders). The officials ordering are usually the *ἐξάκτορες* or *διαδόται*; *ἐπιμελητής* occurs once (*O. Bodl.* 2119), and in the present text *ἀπαιτητής* appears for the first time in such a text. Only the names of the recipients are usually given, but we also find some titles on occasion: *τριβοῦνος* (*O. Bodl.* 2107), *πραιπόσιτος* (*O. Bodl.* 2111, 2119; *O. Leid.* 345), *ὀπτίων* (*O. Stras.* 516), *ναύτης* (*O. Leid.* 344), *ὀφφικιάλιοι τοῦ τριβούνου* (*O. Leid.* 346), and *ἡ σχολὴ τῶν κεντυριῶνων* (*O. Bodl.* 2116). From these it can readily be seen that we are dealing with the distribution of locally collected foodstuffs to military personnel. In the Yale text, I have not been able to read whatever title stood in lines 4–5.

Inv. 21+23+13

8.9 x 14.8 cm.

IVp

παρὰ τῶν ἀπαιτη[τῶν]
 οἷνον' τῆς ἐ' ἰνδικτίον[ος]
 Ἀπολλωνίου Ταυρίνου . . . [
 4 δοτεῖ ἐι . . . οὐ παρὰ τουρο[
 δουκεῖ οἷνον ξέστας εἴκο[σι ὀκτώ,]
 γί(νονται) ξ(έσται) κη μόρους. Ἀπολλω[νι—]
 Παχ . . . ἐ . . . [
 8 Ἀπολλώνιος [

From the *apaitetai* of wine for the 5th indiction, to Apollonios son of Taurinos . . . give to . . . from . . . twenty[-eight] *sextarii* of wine, that is, 28 *sext.* only. Apollonios . . .

4 Probably one should understand *δότε*; *δός* does not seem possible. Probably we have someone's agent as the recipient.

⁵ The Leiden examples were all purchased at Luxor, but that is not a conclusive indication of Theban origin, as ostraka from other upper Egyptian sites also appeared and appear on the market in Luxor; cf. the remarks of P. Viereck, *O. Stras.*, p.viii.

5 I do not know if *δουκει* is a form of *δοῦξ* or part of a proper name.

6 Apollonios is presumably a signer. The formulaic use of fixed forms of *μόνος* in places where grammar would require another case and gender is common; cf. e.g. *O. Bodl.* 2119.

7 Presumably *Παχών*, but I cannot make the end out confidently. Perhaps *έσημ[ειωσάμην]* or *σεσημ[είωμαι]* follows (continued from the signature in line 6?).

2. Moneylender's Account

This text includes two non-joining parts of what was probably a good-sized fragment of a ribbed pot with pitch on the inside. The same hand appears throughout. The text is an account of sums of *ἀργύριον* lent by a moneylender, stated inclusive of interest. A total is given, then individual entries. Each number is preceded by *α*,⁶ which may simply stand for *ἀ(ργυρίου)*. The total is 451; the preserved numbers add up to 405, and the entries of lines 5–6 are lost and that of 7 incomplete.

Inv. 24+22 (a)

10.2x8.4 cm. (a)

IIIp

Inv. 20 (b)

10 x 11 cm. (b)

(a)

λόγος ἀργυρίου `οὐ' ἐδάνισεν
[? Τα]υρείνος ἀργυρίου σὺν τόκ[ω]
α υνᾶ

4] . . . [

(b)

[. . .]ρεῖνος	α [
Πτολεμαῖος	α [
Ἀτρῆς	α ι.
8 Ὀρίων	α λς
Ἀπολλοτκαλιβ	α ρς
Ἀἴλ. . . Δάμιος	α λγ
Παχοῦμις	α ρκ
12 Μακάριος	α ρ

4 Only the tops of 4–5 letters are preserved.

9 The name is not elsewhere attested.

10 The reading is very uncertain.

6 In lines 3, 10, and 12 the left of the alpha is not closed, and one might read it as chi; but I think from the formation of the letters that all are intended to be alpha.

3. Receipt for Fish

Nothing in this text suggests that it concerns any public purpose, but our knowledge of fourth-century receipts on ostraka is very limited, and many of them are not very informative. The phrase *εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν*, however, suggests that this is a private document.

Inv. 7

9.6x8 cm.

IVp

Φαρμουῖθι γ̄ εS ἰνδικ(τίονος),

Ἀέτιος Ἀπολλωνίω·

ἕως τῆς παρούσης ἡμέρας

4 προδέδωκας κατὰ μέρος

εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἰχθύος

λίτρας εἴκοσι καὶ τρεῖς

μόνας. Ἀέτι(ος) σεση(μείωμαι).

Pharmouthi 3, 5th indiction, Aetios to Apollonios: up to the present day, you have delivered by parts to my house twenty-three pounds only of fish. I, Aetios, have signed.

4. Memorandum

Inv. 15

8.5x5 cm.

IIp

Θέων Ἀδράστου

Ἐπεὶφ ιβ̄, (πυροῦ) α, κριθ(ῆς) β̄.

Theon son of Adrastos, Epeiph 12, 1 (art.) of wheat, 2 of barley.

5. *Etoulon* Ostrakon

This text belongs to a well-known group of 165 ostraka scattered in various collections; their texts may be found in W. Hengstenberg, *ZaES* 66 (1931) 51–68, 122–38, and H. C. Youtie and W. H. Worrell, *Mich*, part V. On somewhat vague palaeographical grounds they are generally assigned to the seventh century; the texts themselves mention only indiction, month and day, between indictions 3 and 11. The provenance has been said to be the western edge of the Fayum, although linguistically this attribution is not free of difficulty.⁷

The *etoulon* ostraka concern internal transportation on a large estate, mainly “to the mill” (Ε-Τ-ΜΟΥΛΟΝ); they give the name of the person or estate division from which the shipment comes, the number of

7 See *Mich*, pp. 256, 262–63.

wagons, sacks and artabas, and the destination. The works cited above may be consulted for a more detailed analysis of the archive.⁸

Inv. 4

8.9x9.1 cm.

VIIp

ⲥ INΔΙΚ// Ζ
 ⲈⲡⲈⲓⲬ ⲓⲗ ⲛⲁⲡ
 ⲙⲁⲡⲈⲛⲣⲏⲧⲉⲛ
 4 Δⲙⲁⲛ : ⲙ : Ⲙⲁⲕ//
 ⲙⲁ : ⲥⲣⲁ ⲡⲁⲁ
 Ⲉⲧⲙⲟⲩⲁⲛ

Indiction 7, Epeiph 17. In respect of Pehreten: 9 wagons, 44 sacks, 134 artabas of wheat. To the mill.

1 The writer is evidently Youtie and Worrell's "Hand 5" (p. 257), the only scribe who managed to spell indiction correctly. He was responsible (*inter alia*) for MichO 37, the disposition of which is similar to the Yale ostrakon, and also dated to ind. 7.

3 The person is not otherwise attested in the *etmoulon* ostraka. A ⲡⲈⲛⲣⲏⲧⲉⲛ in MoulO 59 and MichO 61 and 62 is known, and the name was explained by the editors (Hengstenberg, p. 125 n. 1; Worrell and Youtie, Mich, p. 283 ad 61.3) as the Coptic article ⲡⲈ plus the Greek ῥήτωρ. I cannot say if there is any connection with our man.

4-5 Youtie and Worrell note (p. 259) that wagons: sacks: artabas are in about 80 per cent of the ostraka in an approximate 1: 5: 15 relationship. Our 1: 4.888: 14.888 ratio comes very close to this "ideal." The Michigan editors also remark, "It is Hand 5 that gives repeated confirmation to Hengstenberg's reading of the artaba symbol as σι(του) ἀ(ρτάβαι)." The letters are particularly clear on the Yale ostrakon.

6-9. Receipts for *Diagraphon*

These four receipts, all written by the same scribe, belong to the large body of ostraka and papyri of the late seventh and early eighth centuries from the Coptic town of Jeme, the modern Medinet Habu. The tax receipts come from the eighth century and its first half.⁹ A good general discussion appears in OMH, pp. 1-6.

8 Kurt Galling, "Datum und Sinn der graeco-koptischen Mühlen-ostraka im Lichte neuerer Belege aus Jerusalem," *ZDPV* 82 (1956) 46-56, 239, presents two examples supposedly found at Jerusalem and from this provenance constructs a tale concerning their significance; but one must mistrust what he says of the provenance, and his explanation is romance, not history.

9 The dates assigned are based on the works of Till and Kahle cited in No. 6.11n.; cf. already P. Kahle in Bal, p. 43 n. 3.

6.

Inv. 34

6.4 x 10 cm.

27.vii.727

†ΕΙC ΟΥΤΡΙΜC ΔΨΕΙ
 ΕΤΟΟΤΝ ΨΙΤΟΟΤΚ Ν
 ΝΤΟΚ CΤΕΦΑΝΟC ΔΒ
 4 ΡΑΨΑΜ ΨΑΠΕΚΔΙΑΓΡΑ
 ΦΟΝ ΨΝΝΔΗΜC INΔ/ Ι ΓΙ/Ν Γ
 ΤΡΙΤΟΝ † ΜΕC ° Γ INΔ/ ΙΑ †
 CΑΜΟΥΗΛ Ο CΤΡ CΤ^Γ CΤ^Χ
 8 ΔΝΔΡΕΔC ΤΗ ΧΙ
 † ΠΕΤΡΟC
 CΤΗΧΗ
 † ΔΡΙCΤΟΦΑΝΟΥC
 ΕΓΡΑΨΕ †

A tremis has come to us from you, Stephen son of Abraham, for your poll-tax in the *demosion* of the 10th indiction, total 1/6 one-sixth solidus. Mesore 3, indiction 11. Samuel the *strategos* signs. Andrew signs. Aristophanes wrote.

5 *Demosion* here means generally the tax-assessment of a year; cf. OMH, p. 28.

7 Samuel, *strategos*, appears in OMH 236.

8–9 For Andrew and Peter, see W. Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Rechtsurkunden aus Theben* (SBWien 240.1[Wien 1962]) 58 and 174, where a list of occurrences is found.

11 For Aristophanes, see Till, *op. cit.*, 61–62. P. Kahle, in *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Aegyptischen Museums* (Mitt. aus der Aeg. Sammlung 8 [Berlin 1974]) 283–85, assigns indictions 10–13 in Aristophanes' career to A.D. 726–730. Cf. also *O. Petr.* 468, a Greek receipt signed by Peter and Andrew and written by Aristophanes.

7.

Inv. 36

8.3 x 8.2 cm.

13–22. viii. 727

†ΕΙC ΟΥΠΑΨ ΤΡΙΜ'C
 ΔΨΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤΝ ΨΙΤΟΟΤΚ
 ΝΤΟΚ ΨΑΤΕ ΠΨΕΝΟΥΤΕ
 4 ΨΑΠΕΚΔΙΑΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΨΝΝ
 ΔΗΜC INΔ/ Ι ΓΙ/ Ν C ΕΚΤΟΝ † ΜΕC
 Κ. INΔ/ ΙΑ † ΟΝΝΟΦΡΙΟΥ Ο CΤΡ CΤ^Γ CΤ^Χ

ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΤΗΧΙ
 8 ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΣΤΗΧΗ
 † ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ
 ΕΓΡΑΨΕ

A half-tremis has come to us from you, Psate son of Pshenoute, for your poll-tax in the *demosion* of the 10th indiction, total 1/6 a sixth solidus. Mesore 20, indiction 11. Onnophrios the *strategos* signs. Andrew signs. Peter signs. Aristophanes wrote.

6 For Onnophris, see Till, *op. cit.*, 148.

8.

Inv. 37

7.1 x 10.5 cm.

4.x.727

† ΕΙΣ ΟΥΠΗΨΕ Ν2Ο
 ΛΟΚ/ ΔΣΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤΝ 2Ι
 ΤΟΟΤΚ ΝΤΟΚ ΣΕΥΗΡΟΣ
 4 ΣΕΡΓΙΟΣ 2ΑΠΕΚΔΙΑΓΡΑ
 ΦΟΝ 2ΝΝ ΔΗΜΣ ΙΝΔ/ Ι ΓΙ/ Ν
 √ ΗΜΙΣΥ † ΦΑΩΦΙ Σ ΙΝΔ/ ΙΑ †
 ΟΝΝΟΦΡΙ^{ΟΥ} ΣΤ^Χ † ΠΕΤΡΟΣ
 8 ΣΤΗΧΗ
 ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΤΗΧΗ/
 † ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦ/
 ΕΓΡΑΨΕ †

A half-solidus has come to us from you, Severus son of Sergius, for your poll-tax in the *demosion* of the 10th indiction, total 1/2 one-half solidus. Phaophi 6, indiction 11. Onnophrios signs. Peter signs. Andrew signs. Aristophanes wrote.

9.

Inv. 33

7.2 x 8.4 cm.

15.iv.728

† ΕΙΣ ΟΥΠΗΨΕ Ν2ΟΛΟΚ/
 ΔΣΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤΝ 2ΙΤΟΟΤΚ ΝΤΟΚ
 ΦΟΙΒΑΜΩΝ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ
 4 2ΑΠΕΚΔΙΑΓΡΑΦΟΝ 2ΝΝΔΗ
 ΜΣ ΙΝΔ/ Ι ΓΙ/ Ν √ ΗΜΙΣΥ † ΦΑΡ Κ ΙΝΔ/ ΙΑ †
 ... ΣΤ^Χ † ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΣΤΗΧΗ
 ΑΝΔΡΕΑΣ ΤΗΧΗ
 8 † ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦ/ ΕΓΡΑΨΕ †

3 A Phoibamon son of Theodoros appears in KOW 81 (Till, *op. cit.*, 179), in indiction 14.

6 I cannot read the first signer's name; it does not seem to be any of those who appear in this group in OMH.

APPENDIX: INVENTORY

For the convenience of anyone who may wish to work further on the Yale collection, I give below a list of the ostraka and partial descriptions of some.

1. Receipt for a money tax paid to a bank under Ptolemaios. Year 17, Hathyr 30. Ila. 11.5x13 cm. 9 lines.
2. Greek. IIp. 17.3x9.8 cm.
3. Fake.
4. = No. 5 in this article.
5. Greek. Roman period. 9.8x11.9 cm.
6. Fake.
7. = No. 3 in this article.
8. Private letter. Roman. 5.1x8.8 cm. 10 lines, broken at left and right.
9. Vacant.
10. Receipt for bath-tax (?) from Thebes; year 3 of Tiberius, Mesore. 7.9x7.4 cm. 5 lines.
11. Greek? Uncertain date. Illegibly faint. 7.9x9 cm.
12. Greek. Roman period. 6.8x8 cm.
13. See 21.
14. = *P. Coll. Youtie* 125.
15. = No. 4 in this article.
16. = *P. Coll. Youtie* 123.
17. Greek. Account. IIp. 5.4x6.2 cm.
18. Coptic. 10 x 6 cm.
19. Greek. Roman period. 6.9 x 7 cm.
20. = No. 2 in this article (with Inv. 22 and 24).
21. = No. 1 in this article (with Inv. 13 and 23).
22. See 20.
23. See 21.
24. See 20.
25. = *P. Coll. Youtie* 121.
26. Fake.
27. Greek, list of names preceded by numbers (dates?) 13 to 18. Theban to judge by the names (e.g. line 2, *Ωρο(ς) Παμών(θου)). Πρ. 11 x 11.5 cm.

28. Demotic. 9 x 16.6 cm.

29. = *P. Coll. Youtie* 124.

30. Coptic receipt for *diagraphon*, 1 solidus, given to Abraham in Phamenoth. One of the signers is Ananias (cf. OMH 223–226, 248–252). VIIIp. 6 x 7.5 cm.

31. = *P. Coll. Youtie* 126.

32. = *P. Coll. Youtie* 122.

33. = No. 9 in this article.

34. = No. 6 in this article.

35. Coptic. 5.8x8.6 cm.

36. = No. 7 in this article.

37. = No. 8 in this article.

45A, B, C. Three small fragments with handwriting of the third century B.C., accompanied by a card saying "I 17, N. Trench II, 9/11/35." This information suggests strongly Dura-Europos as the provenance. Not much text is preserved, and the three fragments, which belong to the same document, do not join. The text seems to have been some sort of agreement on oath. A: 1] . . . μητε α. [2]. ηθεα. ευορκουντι με . . [. B: 1] ακεναι μητε αυτ[2 not read. C: 1] . . . [2] τουτο με [3]. τεπα[.

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